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UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

"WHO DREAMS SHALL LIVE."

Who dreams shall live! And if we do not dream
Then we shall build no Temple into Time.
Yon, dust cloud, whirling slow against the sun,
Was yesterday's cathedral, stirred to gold
By heedless footsteps of a passing world.
The faiths of stone and steel are failed of proof,
The King who made religion of a Sword
Passes, and is forgotten in a day.
The crown he wore rots at a lily's root,
The rose unfurls her banners o'er his dust.

The dreamer dies, but never dies the dream,
Though Death shall call the whirlwind to his aid,
Enlist men's passions, trick their hearts with hate,
Still shall the Vision live! Say nevermore
That dreams are fragile things. What else endures
Of all this broken world save only dreams!

—*Dana Burnet.*

Poems, Harper & Brothers.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXII. THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1918 Number 10

A PRAYER.

Help us, O Father, to realize the great brotherhood of man, to feel the tie that binds us to the frailest and weakest, to the lowest as well as to the highest of thy children. Reveal to us the things we ought to have done but have left undone. Help us to think of the things that unite, that pacify, that take bitterness and hatred out of our hearts. In the mighty power of love may we move forward to win the triumph of peace. Amen.

J. LL. J.

Now that the war is over and we dare once more speak and write Peace, is it not strange that all over this land of ours we have not been called in solemn council to seriously study the grave international questions that confront us, a people all unprepared for the great responsibility we must now meet? What better work could the Councils of National Defense have engaged in than preparing the electorate of the United States for an intelligent understanding of the new national problems this war has forced us to meet?

O. C. S.

May the souls of all the boys who have died that this war may end war gather as a great host around the peace table and insist the settlement be such that their sacrifice will not be in vain. May all the sorrow and sacrifice and the burdens yet to be borne because of this war far outweigh political and economic considerations when the settlement is made. May the representatives of all the warring nations in some measure realize we are all but ignorant children of the One Father and in love and sorrow try to save humanity from such another awful baptism of blood.

O. C. S.

Now the harvest time is here. Perhaps never before have so many of us planted and tended and garnered in the bounty of nature. Have we gathered in harvest of food for the mind and heart and soul? As we have watched the rain falling on the just and the unjust, the sun shining on the good and bad and realized how generous is the great mother earth in response to the least effort on our part have we not gathered in a harvest in our hearts that will cause us to hurry with eager hands to share with the starving millions in Germany and Austria our food and plenty? As the great mother earth has been generous to us may we be generous to them who now need to be healed and made strong by loving kindness and tender mercy? O. C. S.

Secretary Lansing sounded a prophetic note in the following quotation, a warning which individuals and nations may well take to heart:

> Thoughtful men must know that the peace which is to come will not be a lasting peace if its terms are written in anger, or if revenge rather than the desire for strict justice and the common good is the underlying motive of those who are charged with the grave responsibility of drafting the greatest treaty which the world has ever known.

Hatred is ever a disintegrating force which works its deadliest blight in the one who entertains it. This is a good time to heed Booker T. Washington's famous dictum, "No man shall drag me down by causing me to hate him."

Robert Nichols, one of the Oxford students who in the early days of the war laid down the pen for the sword, is to lecture in this country, among other topics on some of the younger English poets who answered their country's call and laid down their lives in her defense. Mr. Nichols himself is slowly recovering from shell shock. It will be interesting to get his interpretation of these younger poets in whose death the world of letters is a heavy loser. What a rich bequest might have come to us in riper years from Rupert Brooke or Joyce Kilmer! The price which humanity has paid and the loss to future generations is beyond computing.

Before one of Mr. Jones's March "escapes," as he called them, he was asked by a helper for a working motto for Lincoln Centre. The very day he was leaving he said, "How is this:

> From a clean life to a clean city,
> From love of home to love of country,
> From love of country to love of humanity,
> From love of God, our Father, to love of man, our brother."

"But why when you have gone from the smaller to the greater in the first three do you change from the greater to the smaller?" he was asked. Then with a merry twinkle in his eye he said, "Are you sure I have done so? Think it over until I come back and see if the belief in the Fatherhood of God is not infinitely easier for us humans than the belief in the Brotherhood of Man. Every day we hear the assertion of the former and every day we witness the failure of the latter. We have to grow a good deal yet before we are ready for the Brotherhood of Man." O. C. S.

In the midst of the talk for Preparation for Universal military training that our political leaders are even now indulging in may we be allowed to call attention to a fact that they seem to fail to realize? The untrained, undisciplined American boys have done wonders, astonished the Allies, and dumbfounded the Germans because of their ability and individual initiative. All up and down the western front we hear of privates whose officers have fallen taking command, holding, leading on or over the top,—because they were individuals not mere cogs in a machine. Before we allow our nation to follow in the bloody footsteps of Germany let us remember two things. We went to war to end war and our greatest contribution as well as our national asset is the individual initiative. We had better set a watch to guard it lest we loose it through military training or industrial greed.

O. C. S.

The People Rejoice!

Could anything be more wonderful than the outburst of popular acclaim which greeted the premature announcement of the signing of the armistice with Germany on November 7th last? New York never saw such a day! Stores and offices were automatically closed—vast crowds, laughing, cheering, singing, surged through the streets—all traffic rules were suspended or broken—millions of "scraps of paper" were flung like snow-flakes to the breeze, and littered the pavements—whistles screamed and bells clanged for hours. It was one vast carnival, as spontaneous as it was superb. Even when the report from Paris was officially denied, the celebrating continued unabated. The people would not be denied. True or false, the magic word had come, and that was enough!

The sentiments involved in this rejoicing were of course various. Most common, undoubtedly, was the sudden sense of release from tension and forced discipline. For months we had been living in a state of mobilization. Not only our activities, but our thoughts and emotions as well, had been placed under control, and thus abnormally repressed. Now, as in the twinkling of an eye, came release—and explosion was inevitable!

Again, there was certainly present the exultant consciousness of triumph over a hated enemy. Never has a hostile nation become so identified with pride and cruelty as Germany. Never has a foe so shaken the world with fear and horror. And for years she had not only stood off, but broken, every attempt to curb her insolence! Indeed, she had herself, in these last few months, risen to an unheard-of height of power, and taken victory almost within her grasp. Now had come her fall—the proud were humbled and the cruel slain! At last, after repeated disappointments, discomfitures, defeats, delays, Germany was in our hands, and we could do with her as we pleased. What wonder that human nature broke loose as though in madness! Vengeance is still sweet, even at this late day!

Is it not certain, however, that there were other and higher sentiments involved in this wild holiday? Was there not also expressed revulsion from war, and welcome of peace? Was there not rejoicing that the work of hate was done, and the work of love begun? Were men not glad that again they might speak of brotherhood, and dream the prophets' dream, without reproach? This I must believe was the deeper, if not the more obvious and conscious meaning of this extraordinary occasion. The hearts of men are sound, after all. Centuries of civilization and Christian teaching are not in vain. War can never be popular—it is now more than ever a hated thing. Men fight for no lust of fighting, but from deception, superstition, or some high sense of duty. Americans, for example, were persuaded to enter this war from the conviction that by this way only, and surely, could war itself be ended; and now they come out of it with joy unrestrained, because they believe that this thing has been done.

God grant that this may be so! God help mankind to build its hope and faith this day into a structure of peace that shall endure!

J. H. H.

Laws of War

One cause of the relative impotence of International Law is that it has endeavored to include within its scope operations which are, at the best, absolutely lawless. Under International Law, nations at war, whatever the cause and whatever the degree of criminality of the law-breaker, are treated alike as "belligerents" and no violation of previous agreements affects this standing so far as neutrals are concerned. It would be a parallel conception to treat a burglar and householder as alike belligerents, governed by prearranged details of action. The Laws of War may be for the advantage of the most unscrupulous belligerent who breaks them with impunity, while its antagonist is restrained by respect for agreements and by public opinion, on which all law finally rests.

The very conception of "Laws of War" involves an incongruity. To attempt to reduce war to law is to legalize it, and International Law which embraces war as an orderly possibility is self-destructive. No doubt certain abatements of the ferocity of war may be made possible through international agreements as accepted, but these conventions cannot rise to the level of international Law; international agreements as to humanity in warfare such as were adopted at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, cannot become widespread like International Law for there is no way of making them universal.

As to "war to end war," the use of force to resist criminal aggression, there is perhaps no better definition than that offered four hundred years ago by Sir Thomas More in his vision of Utopia.

In his account of "Utopia" four hundred years ago, Sir Thomas More wrote: "Yet they (the Utopians) never go to battle except either in defense of their own country or to drive out of their friend's lands, the enemies that have invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yoke and bondage of tyranny some people that are therewith oppressed. Which they do from pity and compassion. If any prince stir up war against them, intending to invade their land they must meet him incontinent out of their own borders with great power and strength."

D. S. J.

Fundamentals of Americanism

The road to the future runs through the brains of men. He who would contribute the best he can to the future must insist on clear thinking on fundamental issues. When we understand fundamentals the mists begin to clear away.

What are the fundamentals of Americanism?

First, The premise that all people are created politically free and equal. No satisfactory political conclusion can be arrived at without starting from this premise. No political settlement is final, no political program is constructive, no political platform is substantial, unless this premise is the foundation. No government, or consort of governments, can long endure unless it functions legislatively, judicially, and executively in harmony with this premise.

Not all men, but all people. Women are people. The failure to enfranchise women, the failure to support the President in his request for "universal suffrage," is out of harmony with the fundamental premise of American Domocracy. After so long a time patience ceases to be a virtue, and men cannot much longer expect from 20,000,000 women the political slavery which men themselves die resisting.

Second, The conviction that self-government at its worst is better than autocratic government at its best. This is a growing conviction. The inefficiency resulting from self-government is highly to be desired rather than the deadly mechanical efficiency of autocratic government. Self-government at its worst cultivates the soul; autocratic government at its best disintegrates the soul.

America believes in the right of the people to make their own mistakes and achieve their own successes. No king or kaiser has the right by nature, nor will he long be allowed to usurp the authority, to hold in his hands the life and death of his subjects.

While we must not lose sight of self-government, which I believe to be the one oasis in the dessert of governmental despair, we cannot afford to miss our supreme opportunity to demonstrate to the world that there is nothing inherent in self-government which is out of harmony with the successful prosecution of great endeavors. We as individuals must not fail democracy now, and democracy must not fail the world.

Third, The faith that self-government has a mission to the world. That mission is to bring democratic unity out of autocratic chaos. The condition in the world today is due to the old governmental theory which is autocratic. If the world of tomorrow is to be different from the world of yesterday, it must be made so by the new governmental theory, which is democratic. Autocracy may bring about union, but it requires democracy to bring about unity.

Following the close of the war, world unity must be brought about largely by the leadership of America. And let us see to it that our opportunity to lead is not made impossible, and our mission to the world hindered, by self-seeking demagogues who have no interest in the ideals for which our country stands.

Fourth, The hope for a consort of the self-governing peoples of the world to guarantee the rights of man and to promote the orderly development of peoples. Americanism is a growing thing, and this hope is the latest addition to our growing fundamentals.

In an informal way this hope is now being realized. Twenty-two nations more or less democratic in government have adopted the battle cry, "Make the World Safe for Democracy"; and for the first time in history there is strong indication that nations are willing to weave their flags into one flag. There is ample ground for the hope of some sort of permanency of this spontaneous consort of governments. And America must lead in realizing this hope. In America we have all the races of mankind represented. We are the melting pot of the world. We are developing a world spirit. We have led in peace movements. Our experience and our disposition fit us to lead in this consort of nations to make the world safe for democracy. Our idealism demands that we lead, and all the world looks to us to lead.

CURTIS W. REESE.

HEIRS OF TIME

From street and square, from hill and glen,
Of this vast world beyond my door,
I hear the tread of marching men,
The patient armies of the poor.

Not ermine-clad or clothed in state,
Their title-deeds not yet made plain,
But waking early, toiling late,
The heirs of all the earth remain.

The peasant brain shall yet be wise,
The untamed pulse grow calm and still;
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,
And work in peace Time's wondrous will.

Some day, without a trumpet's call
This news will o'er the world be blown:
"The heritage comes back to all;
The myriad monarchs take their own."

—Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

CONSCIENCE

The friend I loved betrayed my trust
And bowed my spirit to the dust.
I keep the hurt he gave, yet know
He was forgiven long ago.

From him I did not merit ill,
But I would bear injustice still,—
Content could years of guiltless woe
Undo the wrong I did my foe.

—Florence Earle Coates.

A Statesman of the New Order

"A Statesman of the New Order" is the title of a recent article by Max Eastman. "I mean by a statesman of the new order," writes Mr. Eastman, "the thing that Plato meant when he said: 'Until philosophers are kings or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils,—no, nor the human race as I believe.'

"This super-statesman," continues Mr. Eastman, "will be a man who possesses the exhaustive knowledge of a technical authority in economics and politics and social psychology. He will be as learned as any professor. And he will be an idealist. But unlike most of the professors and the idealists, he will be a man who *knows how to think in a concrete situation.* And still more unlike the professors, if not the idealists, he will be a man who puts the conclusions of his thought into action with an iron will." Such, according to Mr. Eastman, is Nicolai Lenin.

If we turn now to a recent number of a much read American periodical, we find by way of contrast an article entitled "Proof of Russia's Betrayal." The article recalls by its choice of language that often suppressed weekly "The Appeal to Reason," but we are now concerned with facts and opinions, not with style, and we allude to the latter only in passing.

In this article we are told largely by means of quotations from the *New York Globe, Tribune, World,* and from the *Baltimore American* that Trotzky and Lenin are the paid agents of the Kaiser, obedient in all things to orders from Berlin.

A casual observer is likely to pass over whichever of these contrasted opinions is least to his taste and to hold the other with the tenacity of a dogma, but we shall pause and examine the grounds for these conflicting views. The condemning article bases its conclusion first, on the possession by the Committee of Public Information of the photograph of a note referring to money given by the Imperial Government to Trotzky as foreign minister of the Soviet Government, and giving instructions to the Soviet Government how to act in sundry matters of importance, and, secondly, on the policy of the Imperial Government of fomenting revolutions in countries upon which it had sinister designs.

Is this evidence trustworthy? Perhaps not. But if not, why should it have been invented? At once several more or less plausible suppositions suggest themselves. The evidence might have been "made in Germany" to alienate an embarrassing neighbor from the enemies of the Imperial German Government both at home and abroad. Or, it might have been made in America by the same sort of people as made the Mooney frame-up and for a like reason. Indeed, we believe that there are persons here who will attempt, as soon as the execution seems feasible, to frame up President Wilson as an anarchist, or an autocrat, or anything else that can be "put over."

It may be possible, however, that the evidence may be entirely trustworthy, but in that case it seems only to prove that Lenin and Trotzky on the one hand, and the Imperial German Government on the other, desired a revolution in Russia, and that the two coöperated to this end in so far as the German Imperial Government's loaning money to the Soviet Government. Such an alliance cannot but be regarded as a grave source of danger to both parties concerned, although it has been interesting to observe that when the report was circulated many months ago that the Soviet leaders had received money from Germany for propaganda purposes, there were persons in this country who thought that the Imperial German Government was in the greater danger of the two, and added the financing of the Bolsheviki to the list of colossal Imperial blunders.

To any bourgeois periodical like the one which has been referred to the admission of the possibility of such an act as receiving money from the Kaiser would, of course, place the Russian leaders at once among the outcasts and criminals. But to accept this conclusion without question is to be both superficial and naïve. Thoughtful persons will at once perceive an alternative conclusion; namely, that Trotzky and Lenin are simply revolutionists and nothing more.

The distinction between traitors and revolutionists lies in the ideals and motives, sentiments which can be guessed at only by a study of the historical and social background of this, or any other act. The careful critic of events will not pass a hasty verdict, but will demand data, and in the present instance he will not be utterly disappointed, for we have some data which are at least helpful.

In the first place we have those of Lenin's writings which Mr. Eastman has taken upon himself to present to a small circle of readers. These show Lenin as a sort of glorified Soloman, a constructive and sagacious successor of the dreamy and ineffective Rudins and Nejdanovs of the past generation.

Secondly, we have a pamphlet in which Lenin outlines his own platform, and contrasts it with the platforms of other political parties in Russia; also Trotzky's book entitled "The Bolsheviki and World Peace." These writings show Lenin and Trotzky as typical, Marxian, revolutionary socialists which would account for many acts and words quite incomprehensible to the average bourgeois.

Thirdly, we have an extensive literature on the revolutionary mind as it has disclosed itself in a long series of agitators from Moses to Mother Jones, while the peculiar Russian type of revolutionist has been abundantly portrayed and made accessible to us in excellent translations.

Such sources should enable us to construct an appropriate background upon which to view with understanding the Russian Revolutionary Drama and its principal actors. Among those who have taken into account this revolutionary beckground in their interpretation of the Bolsheviki,—who have in fact employed the method of "higher criticism," it pleases me to find a former colleague, Dr. H. M. Kallen. Dr. Kallen is not a revolutionist, but an ardent supporter of President Wilson and the War for Democracy. It is from his recent book, "The Structure of Lasting Peace" that I quote:

"To those who have been following the political history of Europe since the German assault upon civilization began, it

must be clear that the Russian revolution has not merely overturned Czardom and its bureaucracy; it has seriously shaken the whole war-breeding structure of secret diplomacy among the Allies. It upset the arrangements of the misguided Paris conference; it strengthened liberalism in England, France, and Germany; the Bolshevik publication of dynastic treaties shamed into withdrawal and retirement the ruling Tories who had made them; the Bolshevik negotiations with the Central Powers have now exposed the duplicity of the German government and have farther deepened the gulf between the government and the German people. Lord Landsdowne's mangnificent if not disinterested protest was made possible by the Bolsheviki. Of these the leaders are neither captains of industry nor statesmen. They are not trained to do business nor to conduct governments. None the less, they are the masters of both affairs and politics. They are the masters of both because they are possessed of a conviction concerning them, a conviction which is at the same time an ideal. This they will not and cannot compromise with any consideration or practicality or fact. It is in the deepest and fullest sense a religious conviction. It involves a vision of evil and sin and an infallible programme of salvation therefrom. It has, among its devotees, its heroes and its martyrs, and it projects upon its deniers, the infidels, the *bourgeoisie,* the misbelievers, a ruthless and terrible inquisition. The sin it proclaims is capitalism, is the class war wherein the proletarian masses are constantly being expropriated and enslaved. This sin is the substance of modern civilization and everything else—nationality, imperialism, democracy—is attributive and secondary. Salvation from this sin is socialism. It requires a last judgment, the 'social revolution,' and the inheritance of the earth by the poor and the meek everywhere. The watchwords of this revolution are 'the turn of the wheel,' 'the rule of the downtrodden.' To it all other matters are irrelevant. Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, Siberia, Bessarabia, Lithuania, all the different peoples of the Russian land declare their independence, and it is conceded them. But it is no sooner conceded than the Red Guard is sent to awaken the proletarian revolution among them. Peace on earth, goodwill to men, is the officially proclaimed programme: to achieve it *bourgeoisie* and Jews (Jews are *bourgeoisie* by definition among the Marxists) are expropriated and slaughtered with the rigid impartial logic characteristic of true religion everywhere. On the other hand, unarmed men are sent to their death in the camps of the enemy, to preach 'the turn of the wheel.' Even while peace negotiations are being conducted with the masters of the German people, the people themselves are being urged to rebellion, urged with a divine and childlike faith in the will and the power of that unhappy people to rise against its masters. The army is demobilized even as peace negotiations are abandoned because the demands of Germans require surrender of the principles of the Revolution. A Constituent Assembly is forcibly dissolved and a 'tyranny of the proletariat' forcibly established, to save the Revolution. Peace, on shameful terms, is accepted to save the Revolution, and notice is at the same time served that the real war, the class war, goes on. All this is the logical consequence of a theory of life held as a religion. Acting exclusively on this theory, as on any theory, is acting in a vacuum, consistently, but irrelevantly. Because the Bolsheviki disregard time, place, circumstance and the sinister character of the enemy they are dealing with, they are dooming themselves to failure, Russia to the domination of what to a socialist talking in the symbols of Christianity, is anti-Christ. But faith is of the eternal. They have waited a generation, these Bolsheviki, they have schemed and plotted for a generation; if need be they will wait and scheme and plot as long again. The failure of the faith is only temporary and immediate. Its victory is only postponed. The dark forces of Germany are more afraid of the Bolshevik idea than they were of the Tzarist army."

We ourselves do not propose to make any final statement in regard to Lenin and Trotzky. We are content to point out that a question is still open which some persons thoughtlessly imagine to have been decided. As for the Bolsheviki they seem to us only the Russian representatives of the British Labor Party and of the Australian I. W. W.

PERCY DAWSON.

Organize the World Through a League of Nations

Question 1. Why should the world be organized?

Answer. Organization has been made acutely necessary as the only way to prevent destruction of civilization by war. It is the next step in the development of civilization. The world should be organized as effectively as we have already organized cities, states and nations.

Q. 2. What does world peace mean?

A. It does not mean merely stopping war. If this war should come to an end without laying the foundations of organization between the nations, we should not have peace but only an armed truce. "Peace means a condition of organized living together among nations."

Q. 3. How can the nations have an "organized living together"?

A. The forty-eight nations can be organized eventually on somewhat the same plan as that on which our forty-eight states are organized, with a Supreme Court to settle disputes between them; with a conference or congress meeting regularly, its members chosen from all the nations; and with a common police force to ensure order and safety.

Q. 4. What is the first step to be taken toward such organization?

A. Education of the public on the needs and methods of world organization and immediate preparation for a League of Nations as its initial feature.

Q. 5. What should the members of a League of Nations agree to do?

A. The members should agree to settle all disputes between one another without resort to violence and bloodshed, and to protect one another from injustice and attack from outside their number. They should also provide for common defence against a possible recalcitrant member.

Q. 6. What should be the essential foundations of the League?

A. (*a*) A world Court. (*b*) A Permanent Council of Conciliation. (*c*) A World Conference meeting regularly.

Q. 7. What should a World Court do?

A. It should settle international disputes capable of judicial decision.

Q. 8. What should a permanent Council of Conciliation do?

A. It should be in constant session to study causes of friction and to take such action as will promote better understanding and good feeling. It should receive disputes exclusive of those that involve questions of law, and should examine and report on them to the members of the League, with recommendations for their settlement.

Q. 9. What should the World Conference do?

A. It should create new international law, and provide for new agreements needed to preserve justice in a world of growth and change.

Q. 10. What would happen if one of the great nations at the Peace Settlement should refuse to come into the League?

A. It would leave the world divided, and thereby hinder the realization of international peace.

Q. 11. Would a League be of any value if Germany remained out of it?

A. Yes; for though it would not ensure permanent peace the members of the League, acting under collective control, might exert such pressure on Germany, both educational and economic, as would finally force her to enter the League.

Q. 12. What are the principal advantages of membership in the League?

A. (*a*) Equal trade opportunities, by the abolition of preferential tariffs and the removal of economic barriers, so far as practicable. (*b*) Greater security without the necessity of huge rival armaments.

Q. 13. Is it likely that Germany, as a member of the League, would keep her pledges in the future, after having broken so many in the past?

A. Not only would it be for the material advantage of each nation to keep its pledges, but, as stated above, the League would exert compulsion on any recalcitrant member.

Q. 14. When should the organization of the League be consummated?

A. At the Peace Conference. But its detailed plan or constitution should now be carefully worked out by the best international minds and accepted by the peoples. Since all territorial readjustments and other agreements will be profoundly affected by the decision as to whether or not there is to be a League of Nations and what its character is to be, it is therefore absolutely necessary to have a plan thoroughly thought out beforehand. The delegates to the Peace Conference should be instructed to present a plan for a League of Nations as a basis for all other settlements.

Q. 15. Would a nation lose any of its sovereignty if it joined a League of Nations?

A. Yes; but on the other hand it would gain far more than it lost, as did our thirteen states when they united under our Constitution and each surrendered a small portion of its sovereignty. Each nation would still regulate its internal affairs, yielding control only in matters of international concern.

Q. 16. What force would a League of Nations use in addition to a propaganda of education?

A. Economic force, and the armies and navies of the nations of the League acting under collective control. As soon as possible, however, after the war, national armies and navies should by mutual agreement be reduced and transformed into a genuine international police force whose sole function will be to maintain law and order.

Q. 17. Would large and small nations have an equal vote in the World Conferences?

A. There is as yet no agreement on this matter. It is possible that there might be an upper house representing all nations equally on the basis of our Senate, and a lower house based on population, as in our House of Representatives. National resources, education, and other elements might also enter into the consideration. Justice and satisfaction must be given the weaker nations as to their vote, otherwise suspicion of the strong nations might lead to a coalition of the small states. As soon as trade barriers and the consequent rival armaments are removed, there will be little to fear. Prosperity and safety will be as assured to a dweller in a small country as to one living in a large country;—just as a citizen of a small town or small state is as prosperous and safe as a citizen of a large city or of a large state. A man, for example, is as prosperous and safe living in Westfield, Massachusetts, as if he lived in Boston; and equally so in Rhode Island as in New York State.

Q. 18. Can World Organization abolish war among nations?

A. War can be abolished among nations as surely as it has been abolished between cities and between states. Six hundred years ago European walled cities had armies which fought one another; Scotland and England fought one another; little princedoms in Germany fought one another. Internal peace came when all these little units became parts of a larger whole. Our Supreme Court has settled upwards of eighty interstate disputes. Without our federal organization and our Supreme Court, friction would inevitably have led to war in many cases. International war can practically be abolished by a League of Nations developing world organization. War between nations is bound to be abolished just as much as slavery and other long existing evils have been abolished.

Q. 19. What is to be said to those who argue that war is inevitable so long as human nature remains unchanged?

A. That the same human nature that has abolished war between cities and between states has only to go one step farther and to abolish it between groups of nations. It is not primarily a question of human nature, but one of organization.

Q. 20. Why should we plan *now* for what is coming after the war?

A. If we wait until the last shot is fired, it will be too late to make sure that the peoples and not precedent and privilege shall dictate the agreements. The world will in any case be embittered and frightfully impoverished, and will find itself in a state of industrial and financial chaos. Under these conditions men new to such problems will be unable to grapple successfully with the colossal task of world organization. It is the duty of all patriots at this moment to enter on a new preparedness, based on President Wilson's ultimate aims as expressed in his fourteen points on January 8, 1918. The ground plan for the new edifice must be marked out *now,* and the free peoples of the world must bring materials for its erection or the fruits of victory may be lost.

Lord Bryce has said: "If the opportunity which the close of the present conflict will offer for the provision of means to avert future wars be lost, another such may never reappear, and the condition of the world will have grown worse because the occurrence of the like calamities will have been recognized as a thing to be expected and their causes as beyond all human cure."

The leading statesmen of the world have signified their approval of a League of Nations. An informed public opinion is vital to its establishment.

No individual is unimportant in furthering this world plan. A taper may light a beacon fire!

Will you help?

Executive Board of the League for Permanent Peace,
421 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

An Interpretation

For the Children of All Souls Sunday School
October 13, 1918

We have had a rare privilege here in our Sunday school of having for our leader one of the great religious teachers of America, and because he was so near and dear we are in danger of not realizing how wise and great he was.

We want you to remember certain things about Mr. Jones that may be forgotten in these days of war.

He was a brave soldier and a pacifist. A pacifist means one who thinks nations like people should settle their quarrels in the courts, not by killing each other. It took a long time and much talking and caused many brave people to be called cowards before dueling was stopped but at last it was stopped and now only rowdies settle their disputes by fighting. So in time will it be with nations. But there will always be wrong and injustice to fight and it takes the finest sort of courage, moral courage, to fight against selfishness and evil. Mr. Jones had rare moral courage, he was never afraid to "stand up and stand out" for what he thought to be right for he believed and has told us many times "One with God is a majority."

Every day you children have a chance to show moral courage, and you must remember Mr. Jones and never be cowards when you see people doing wrong or being mean.

Mr. Jones was a democrat like Lincoln, that means believing every one should have a chance no matter what his race or color, whether he is rich or poor, good or bad. "For are we not all children of one Father? Hath not one God created us?"

He was a loyal American and an internationalist. You all know what a loyal American is, not one who says "my country right or wrong" but one who so loves his country that he would make any sacrifice to keep it right; who believes so much in the ideals on which this country is founded, freedom of speech and freedom of conscience that he would die rather than have them ignored. An internationalist is one who believes the nations of the world can work together for their mutual good just as our states do. Of course there would be a court for settling disputes and the armies and navies would be like policemen arresting law-breaking nations and there would be some way of shutting them up till they would promise to be good.

He was an optimist always looking on the bright side for he believed "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world."

He claimed no creed, saw good in all religions, yet was a real Christian and we won't meet many in our life time. I have known but two real Christians, and Mr. Jones was one. People are not really truly Christians unless they really truly believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, that means every one, black and white and yellow; friends and foes are our brothers and should be treated as brothers.

He was a pioneer and a prophet. Prophets are those who are so sure of God's goodness they can foretell what will happen. Of course there are no longer pioneers as there were when Mr. Jones was a little boy and lived in the woods in Wisconsin, but there are still pioneers in reform and religion and they have just as many hardships to overcome and are very lonely, for pioneers are way ahead of the crowd.

And last of all, think of Mr. Jones as a great soul. You will hear people talk of having the assurance that their souls are saved as if they had souls, but great people are souls that have bodies. It was his body we saw here that we loved, but it was his soul that loved us. When tempted to be cowards because you are afraid to stand up for what you know is right, think of Mr. Jones, then it will be hard to be mean or unjust or untruthful. If we are going to be fine souls so when *we* die people will think of us as we think of Mr. Jones, going right on with all the friends who are over there,—just think, he won't be a stranger to any of the great teachers, preachers, poets, artists or reformers—if we are to feel at home with things that endure we must begin now to be interested in things that make our souls grow strong. We will let Mr. Jones preach us his own little sermon about our souls:

"Prudence is born of selfishness; it may be the child of compromise, of convenience; it never makes heroes, never sings by the open grave, never prays for one's enemies on cross crowned heights. But when the soul awakens to a sense of the divine within, then all these things triumph, then right grows lordly; then goodness becomes more valuable than money, the simplicity of nature more beautiful than the artificialities of man; solitude more blessed than society; companionship with man climbs into a companionship with the eternal."

OLIVE COLE SMITH.

Romain Rolland the Elisha of Modern Europe

There are many of us now in middle life to whom the Tolstoy of the "nineties" was a prophet like unto the Hebrew prophets of old. When the great Russian passed we wondered if one would arise to wear his mantle. Romain Rolland seems destined to be such an one. Like Elisha of old, the mantle of Elijah falls on him. Rolland's splendid biography of Tolstoy (1910) shows how deep Tolstoy had reached him, and how thoroughly he understood Tolstoy's message. He says there, "With Tolstoy, love is the basis of energy. Love is the reason of life." And again he concludes with Tolstoy sympathetically in the aims of the life of the Elijah of modern Europe, when he says, "He was the highest type of the free Christian, who strives all his life long toward an ideal that is always more remote."

The great novel "Jean Christophe" showed us in Rolland the master of the pen worthy to succeed the author of "War and Peace." But as with Tolstoy, the artist is soon to give way to the crusader. The world was out of joint with the religion of Tolstoy and he could not remain the mere artist receiving the plaudits of men. So with Rolland, the war forced him to become for his love for truth and men, an exile from France. His position is declared in "Above the Battle"; an epic of International Love in the midst of the horrors of war. People have often asked what would Jesus have done had he been living in one of the allied nations when Germany invaded their usual peaceful domain. I believe that by and by we will conclude that Jesus would have done as did Rolland. The flood

of unloosed passions of war did not overwhelm Rolland. He kept his head, spoke words of calmness and love, and when he could not prevail on men went forth sadly and lovingly to work in the International Agency to Help Prisoners of War.

The war has brought out into the light some tremendous figures. First came Jaures the Martyr; the all-around wisest figure in European life of his day, well-poised, loyal to humanity, this intellectual giant went down before the assassin's bullet at the first blast of war. Karl Liebknecht the Hero of the War; calmly, with full knowledge of the consequence, this brave, righteous man, risked his life and went to prison for liberty. When the heroes of the war are truly celebrated we will find none greater than Liebknecht. Bertrand Russell and Ellen Key are other Europeans who have kept their heads, thought clearly, spoken fearlessly. Another is Arthur Henderson the statesman, who looks into the future. Only time can tell of the great heroines and heroes who have at last shaken Russia free from the shakles of the past. And then the millions of brave young men who have given up life on the field of battle, the great army to whom Rolland himself pays such tribute when he says:

"O young men that shed your blood with such generous joy for the starving earth. O heroes of the world. You young men of all nations brought into conflict by a common ideal, making enemies of those who should be your brothers; all of you, marching to your deaths, are dear to me."

They are dear to us all. Till the end of time we will love them and honor them.

But above all these figures I believe the over-shadowing one is Rolland; unless death shall take him away I believe he will come to hold the place in the Europe of the future that Tolstoy held in the past. As war's passions cool the world will understand him better. And he who has suffered for his internationalism will be a fitting figure to be the prophet, in that "New Age" which he so truly says, is coming to us. Already he has sounded the challenge in *"Le Populaire"* of Paris; reprinted in *The World-Tomorrow*, of New York, in which he says:

"Let us enlarge the humanism which was so dear to our fathers, but whose meaning has been contracted to that of Greco-Latin textbooks. In every age the states, universities, academies, all the conservative powers of the mind, have tried to make of it a dyke against the assaults of the new soul, in philosophy, ethics, art. The dyke has broken through.

"Now we must accept humanism in its full meaning, embracing all spiritual forces of the entire world."

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

Thoughts on "All Saints"

At this time of the year, when it is drawing to its close, our hearts seek, our arms stretch out toward one another. We want to talk together, to talk together of the sorrows of the present hour, of the burdens that weigh us down, and of the help of God, who is aiding us to bear our burden, and to keep up hope.

The life of men is influenced by the way they think of death, and of those who have left us. There is a brutal, utilitarian way of thrusting death aside, of removing it from memory, as we remove corpses from the field of battle. There is a way of striking out from the account book of life's values those who have closed their eyes forever.

Humanity is not only a *whole* made up of the living of today, but also of the living of yesterday. If the dead are past naught, what are we but future naught? There is, then, a duty to the dead, a force that comes from the dead.

Let us be faithful to the dead, not only in memory, but by attachment during the present. Let us keep them not only in our memory—the weakness of memory is always a surprise and an affliction to us—but in our active life.

After having seen them depart, with eyes filled with tears, and the heart tightened with grief, then—you can do it if you have loved them well—wipe away your tears to see more clearly. Think of them as still existing. Treat them as you treat the living—as friends, not merely visible, but invisible.

Thus you accomplish the duty you owe them. Not one of those who has gone but has left behind a memory, a trust, a work unfinished. Continue the work. There is a true strength of comfort in the idea that we are collaborating with those who are gone.

This, dear friends, applies in a very special way to the soldiers who have died for their country. If they were young and not yet heads of families, they have left behind them in the world some one, or more. Love and serve those who remain in remembrance of him who is gone. But often there is a widow, children. Love, but not too sadly, the children of those who have died for their country. *Love* them, embrace them, but not through heavy black veils, but with a bright flash of the tenderness that is shot with your heart, from the courage of those who in giving themselves have given all to their country. Smile upon the dear little ones even when it is hard to do so. Let this be your great victory over yourself—not to cast a gloom over the youth of these children. Their fathers deserve it, they who made the sacrifice of their life, in a splendid heroic spirit.

In a certain point of view the dead are more *real* than the living. We would all be wanderers, like sheep without a fold, poor, dying of hunger, if we had not within us the soul of our dear dead, if we did not live on the bread they kneaded for us from their sacrifice and spiritual beauty.

The real dead are the living who put nothing immortal into their lives; the real dead are those who bury themselves under their own mean little thoughts as under dust. They are the ones who allow themselves go under the Shadows of the Tomb.

Oh, dearly beloved Dead! May God by you deliver us from the misfortune of being dead while yet alive! And may we with the invincible daring of a love stronger than destruction press you to our bosom, and say to each one of you, "I love you beyond death. I love you beyond the tomb. I love you with all that I have of the Immortal.

Charles Wagner.

The Universalist Leader.

It has been said of the world's history hitherto that "might makes right"; it is for us and for our times to reverse the maxim, and to show that right makes might.

Abraham Lincoln.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do Good is my Religion"

SUNDAYS AT ALL SOULS CHURCH, CHICAGO.

In its "supplies" the pulpit of All Souls has been singularly blessed. Those who keep in touch with "The Field" have from time to time seen the announcements and so know that we have had the good fortune to listen to great messages from Prof. Steiner of Grinnell, Iowa; Jane Addams, Miss Lutie Stearns, and Profs. Fisher, Foster and Breasted of the University of Chicago. But just how "great" were these messages, one could know only by *hearing*, as each speaker is a specialist in his line: and to try to convey by the printed page in a very short space any small part of the vital thoughts that came from those teeming brains and sympathetic hearts is attempting the impossible. But we *can* express our feeling of deep gratitude for such lives.

As I listened to Dr. Breasted in his masterly unfolding of his two topics—"Earliest Social Prophets" and "The Earliest Internationalism," which carried us back fifteen hundred years and to the land of the Nile, I gave thanks for the fact that here was living proof of the truth of Lowell's lines—

"No man is born into the world whose work
Is not born with him."

We flatter ourselves occasionally, that we know something about the ancients—anyhow enough for all practical purposes; but it takes a mind and heart like Dr. Breasted's to show us how little we really know about Egypt and her contribution to civilization, and our great indebtedness to those early prophets.

In the sermon under the second topic he showed us the first of the kings whose soul informed him that there must be other lands and creatures to share the beneficence of the Creator, and the comparison of his hymn with the 104th Psalm, written one thousand years later was most interesting and informing. They are almost identical, word for word, and in thought and construction.

This king with a vision tried to teach his subjects to be praiseful and prayerful, just and loving:—yes, even three thousand years ago he tried to make men see that Love was the greatest force in the universe.

The choral response for the service of Nov. 10th was particularly pertinent both as to the spiritual lessons drawn from this ancient king's life, and the news—though not official—that this agonizing world was soon to be at peace:

"It is our glad and holy day: We will take sweet counsel together. Peace to young and old that enter here; peace to every soul herein.

"To land after land the rising sun brings jubilee today. Today are we children of liberty, reason and hope: * * * today the cheerful face, the lifted eye, the quiet mind, the heart conversing with the sky.

"Holy the custom that, week by week calls men together in brotherhoods to remember God; to face their ideals; to thank; to quicken the spirit of service." And the responses sung to *just* the right melody—

"Holy and peaceful the Day, and the week's work done.
O'er the turmoil of care cometh Peace;
Quietly over the earth falls Peace.

"Holy and peaceful the Day, and the heart sings songs;
Sings the song of the Home and of Love.
Quietly over the earth moves Love.

"Holy and peaceful the Day, and the soul seeks rest;
To the hills of the spirit we go.
Humbly who seeks, he will there find rest.

"Holy and peaceful the Day, and the roadside sweet;
Cometh morn, and how gladly we rise,
Girded with strength for the God-given task!"

Though duty changes and truth expands, yet can one age teach another. We are debtors to that ancient king of Egypt—and to Dr. Breasted.

M. B. Powell.

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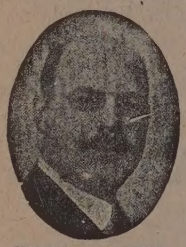

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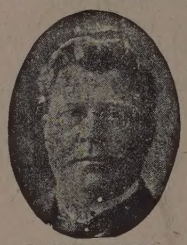

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